1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

883 868 571 159 305 592 [304] barber and still carries out special chores for his former master. He also claims that he gives the senior barber about fifty percent of all his present receipts. As yet he does not know how to cut face marks, remove the uvula, or perform circumcisions, and so he attends all of these ceremonies with the master barber so that he may continue his education. He hopes that by the next year he will be allowed to perform some of these more advanced operations under supervision. When he has completely finished his education, it will not be necessary to do any chores for the senior or give him any commission. Nevertheless the former apprentice should always pay his respects to his ex-master and give him gifts from time to time.

883 868 571 592 834 Other apprentices living with strangers claimed they felt more freedom in the household of the stranger and thus live away from home for their training even though they practice the same craft as their father. Many said that they would return home eventually but for the present it was pleasant to travel around seeing other parts of Bornu. This freedom refers more specifically to their sexual activity or at least to its discussion since the discipline and respect given to the compound head is the same as elsewhere. However many boys discussed sex in front of the compound head while such behavior would be impossible in their natal family households. Some boys reported that their father was dead and they had been sent off by their families to the household of relatives or friends in order to learn an occupation.

882 867 105 In summary, adolsecence sharply divides men and women. A young girl takes on her role as a married woman and it is within marriage that she completes her education for adulthood in Kanuri society. A woman may divorce later on as indeed most do, then remarry and bear children throughout. However the framework of adult life is entered into at a first marriage sometime around puberty. For the boy, on the other hand, adolescence is a socially recognized state in life entered at circumcision. This stage of life is used to complete the young man's education and equip him with the interpersonal and occupational skills that are required as an adult and a potential family head.

Maturity

885 192 The mature man is described by the Kanuri as *ratbidi*. Ideally this implies that he is married, has a compound of his own and an occupation, the use of some land for farming, and a recognized position in the community as the head of a compound. It also means that he has a certain degree of independence so that if he wished he could move of his own accord to another community. To be a mature man par excellence, he should also have children and the reputation of a person who does things discreetly and diplomatically. Maturity is not simply a term applied to a period of life. It is also a value judgement describing a proper and desirable behavior of an adult man. It is not just a role but an evaluation of that role.

885 Most people seemed unable or unwilling to answer the question of age in relation to maturity, and so they fell back on marriage claiming that any married

885 196 man was in fact a mature adult. However a few, notably high ranking people, did give an age and suggested that a person could not be thought of as being fully mature until he was at least thirty-five, very often forty. After this age he is not sup-

585 626 virgin, he beats her that night, and proclaims it openly. Both the girl and her mother feel shame; the husband, in turn, feels that he has been defrauded and has gotten a bad bargain. The fugurum money, however, is not repaid him. Though the Kanuri know that the hymen may be removed surgically, and that the Arabs do do this in order to make the wedding night less painful to the bride, they never do it themselves; the hymen is always forcefully broken.

585 On the following day, friends of the girl come to cook for her and for her husband, and they do this for seven days, while the bride does nothing except bathe and decorate herself while [834] visitors come to greet her. Her husband is permitted to resume having intercourse with her after four days. If he has another wife, he does not sleep with her for those seven days, nor does she cook for him during that period.

b) Marriage with a divorced woman. The above description of marriage practices represents the marriage of a man with a kalə yaskə, described as a virgin, and usually, though not always a virgin. More properly, such a marriage should be called a girl's first marriage, in contrast to subsequent marriages.

586 587 Should she be divorced, the woman enters a totally different category in the social structure. She becomes a <u>zogor</u>, and marriage with a zogor is different in many respects from marriage with a kalə yaskə. The status of a man does not change significantly after a divorce, consequently there is no category for a man corresponding to that of the zogor. His first marriage fre-

593 eating together) is dropped and the husband and wife often refer to each other by sibling terms.

593 In some cases, more often among the upper classes, if
565 a mother and/or father are very young at the time of their first child, a mutual shame-avoidance should obtain between the parents
[842] and this child. Informants who knew of this custom (many lower class
[853] informants denied its existence) claimed that in such a case the young mother must be pushed and cajoled into giving her breast to the infant because she feels great shame in having given birth so early in her life. However, as soon as the parents have grown up somewhat and taken their place as adult members of the community, the shame-avoidance between them and their first-born dwindles to the more usual shame-respect held between children and their parents.

571 As indicated above, shame(nungu) is a general category which refers to restrictions on behaviour in interpersonal rela-
[577] tions. In this sense it is generalized to include all good, proper
[834] and moral conduct, both in and out of the kinship system. An individual should feel some nungu whenever he approaches a woman in public and she should keep her eyes to the ground, her head covered, if possible, and only the most necessary conversation should pass
576 between them. These taboos are more stringently practised by mem-
[565] bers of the upper classes, although no man, regardless of class
[264] ever eats with a woman. All respect behaviour between the lower classes and their social superiors implies some nungu. Thus in the law court an individual must keep his head uncovered and bent down (a woman keeps her head covered and originally spoke through a window from another room), and remain on his knees with feet tucked under his robe and his knees forward. Or again, shoes must be re-